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593 [582 43] Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

[262 224] A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu, et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

[551] A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

593 601 There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." [776] Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, 593 no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her 196 presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's 831 anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't bear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

602 578 195 Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakuni (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

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593 Thus far, the whole relationship is one of solidarity, and little potentiality for conflict appears.

835 595 Murngin polygyny usually implies that a man will acquire wives throughout his lifetime. Through the operation of tribal laws a very old man frequently gets young girls for wives. All these women are arndi to the sons, but often young men cohabit clandestinely with their father's younger wives. These must be only tribal relatives of the sons' actual mothers. Even so, the practice is considered wrong, but the feeling is not strong enough to prevent a sexually active son from [518] cohabiting with a father's wife. Should the old man discover it, he would be very angry and reprove his son by calling him a dog, et cetera, but it is generally agreed that an old man beyond the age where sexual life interests him would not "growl very hard."

582 593 835 518 Sometimes when a son is too young to marry, a father may take his boy's galle as a wife (she is "small" arndi to the father) to keep someone else from getting her, because of the son's immaturity. The son would call this woman arndi until the father's death; then he inherits her and calls her galle. Any children born to her by the father would be called yukiyuko or yeppa and not gatu by the son. Frequently a son considers it his right to copulate with her (not openly), which causes the father much pain. The younger man would have abuse heaped on his head, but there would never be a fight over such a problem, or any other, between a father and son so long as they belonged to the same clan; however, a dispute between "sons" and "fathers" of different clans often leads to fights and occasional killings.

593 606 If a daughter runs away from her husband (the father's waku), the father with the aid of his sons brings the runaway back to his waku. She receives a beating from him and is advised to remain faithful to her husband. Quarreling daughters who are the wives of one man are instructed by their father to live in peace, for he considers the welfare of his waku of the greatest importance. He and her brothers [551] also keep his daughter's totemic name for her since she is not allowed to know it.

603 602 *Marikomo* ⟷ *Maraitcha* (diramo and mielk)[9] (father's father; father's father's sister ⟷ son's son; son's daughter; brother's son's son; brother's son's daughter)

This relationship conforms to the father-children type, having the same five varieties as found in the bapa-gatu relationship.

[9] *Diramo*, man, male; *mielk*, woman, female.

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The marikmo-maraitcha reciprocation is far less powerful than the wawa-yukiyuko or bapa-gatu relationship. The female marikmo is seldom considered at all. A marikmo diramo is of more importance to a maraitcha diramo after death than before. It is largely because of this post-mortem relationship that the living tie is of importance. 603

A spirit child comes from the water hole of the clan where the spirit of the dead marikmo is. This marikmo takes a special interest in the unborn child. A maraitcha receives some of his names, including all his totemic names, from his marikmo diramo. A maraitcha mielk receives her names from her female marikmo and mari. 603 775 551

When a man dies, the spirit of his marikmo comes out of the well for him, and takes the dead man's good soul[40] back to the well whence it had come as a spirit child. When a man lies dying, the spirit of marikmo (also mari) comes to his maraitcha and calls for the spirit to come out and join him. The natives believe that sometimes just as the man dies, while the heart is still beating, the marikmo's spirit enters the heart, and that is why the heart continues to beat. He then takes the soul of the dead man out of the heart and leaves for the other world through the dead man's mouth. Frequently, the spirit of a dead marikmo fights with the mokoi (the evil ghosts who live in jungles) for the spirit of the dead man, for they claim it as theirs. The father and others paint the body of the dead man or woman with the design of the totemic water hole and sing a totemic song so that marikmo can hear and lead his maraitcha to the totemic well and save it from the attacks of the mokoi. 603 775 [763] [764]

When the bones are exhumed the women carry them for a time. A marikmo mielk helps in this, but her participation is small and of little importance. 603 [765]

A marikmo diramo has a claim on a man's canoe. Both male and female marikmo seem to acquire what powers they have because they are in the patrilineal line and are pale reflections of the father.

Mokul Bapa ⟷ *Gatu* (diramo and mielk) (father's sister ⟷ brother's child) 604

The varieties of mokul bapa correspond to those of bapa. The mokul bapa, say the natives, is a kind of female father. No taboos surround her relations with gatu except the ordinary restrictions between men and women of the same moiety. Gatu diramo looks upon her not only as a sister to his father, but also as a mother of his dué, a most important person. [606]

[40] Birimbir, warro; see Glossary of Native Terms.

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all sisters accentuates the ritualistic nature of the spear-throwing. Emotionally, throwing at several women instead of one is more satisfactory since the feelings linked with the mirriri are intense and need much activity to vent them.

Mari ⟷ Kutara Solidarity

As has been said, the lateral structure of the Murngin kinship system is potentially weak. The gawel-waku reciprocal is no exception, because of the change of daughter to wife and because gawel may not give his daughter to his proper waku. This relationship is most decidedly strengthened by the addition of the mari-marelker and gurrong-kutara lines of descent. The reason is simple. Ego's mari is gawel to ego's own gawel. This places ego's gawel in the same weak position toward ego's most generous and helpful friend (mari) as that in which ego finds himself toward his own gawel. Many natives have been recorded as saying the following: "Mari is the boss of my mokul rumeru and gawel and helps me get my galle." Through the mari-kutara tie there is strength between gawel and waku, so that a solid bond is established from mari in the second ascending generation and second lateral line to the right of ego, and kutara in the second descending generation and second lateral line to the left of ego.

Kutara inherits mari's personal names, hence an identity of personality in names. Since names are of the utmost importance in Murngin thought and there is a feeling of sameness about things bearing the same name, the great solidarity between mari and kutara can be understood. Even after mari's death he still comes to kutara's aid. He is an eternal source of health and comfort to kutara. The latter, usually a younger man, is also a great help to mari, for he can give physical aid in time of war, is an active huntsman, and, all in all, usually participates in the social life as a mature male still in his prime. Moreover, they belong to the same moiety, and frequently to the same clan, which adds to the strength of the positive relationship.

An examination of the kinship structure demonstrates the reasons for this solidarity. Mari's kutara uses the term gawel for the man who is in the relationship of waku to mari. In other words, the person to whom kutara stands in the weakest relationship, his gawel, is a social personality with whom kutara's mari is in exactly the opposite relationship—mari is strong with kutara's gawel where kutara is weak. Mari's relationship in this case is positive while kutara's is negative.

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617 second ascending generation in ego's line, the marikmos are grouped as A, and the first ascending is D (the father's); and in ego's generation the brothers and sisters are grouped as A again. Ego's son is D and his son's son is A. To the right of ego the line from top to bottom runs B, C, B, C, and B, and to the left of ego the same alternation of generation is found. Ego's grandfather and ego's own generations are grouped together, and ego's son's son is also grouped with him. Ego's father and his son are placed together in a different subsection. In other words, alternating generations within patrilineal lines are grouped together, so that grandfathers and grandsons are considered to be members of one group.

[551] The Murngin use their subsection system much as they do their kinship system; a man or a woman is called by his subsection term almost as often as by his kin designation. Even the children use a subsection title, usually employing it more frequently than the kinship term.

At large intertribal gatherings when the kinship term is difficult to obtain because of the remoteness of the various relatives, the subsection terminology is used; this with slight variations is the same throughout northeast Arnhem Land. Some of the people come from hundreds of miles for these great ceremonies in the lower Goyder and Glyde River districts, and their *kinship* terminology is utterly different. Since the section terms are practically the same and only eight in number, it is comparatively easy to discover one's subsection relationship to an utter stranger. The subsections also play a prominent rôle in three of the main ceremonies. In the Djungguan ceremony they regulate the order of certain dances and also the time for calling out the sacred names of the men's dead ancestors. The subsection as well as the clan and moiety system of the Murngin has a totemic significance, since each subsection has a group of totems attached to it, viz., A^1 Buralung: stone kangaroo, night heron, sultry albatross, and wallaby; A^2 Ballung: iguana; D^1 Wa[illegible]ut: wedge-tailed eagle; D^2 Kamerdung: sea eagle and the sun; B^1 Narit: gray kangaroo and a small fresh water fish; B^2 Burlain: emu and thin-legged kangaroo; C^1 Kaidjawk: ibis; C^2 Bangardi: brown-tailed hawk.

These totems and the subsections, as well as the position of the subsection in ceremonies, will be more fully discussed in the chapters dealing with totemism, local organization and ceremony.

617 58 The above description proves clearly that, contrary to the opinion of the older writers, the subsection and section system does not regu-

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103 wells, both the sacred and the camp names, refer to the totemic objects
614 either directly or indirectly and usually describe some aspect of the
773 clan's country or rationalize its relation to the totem. The totemic
182 mythological ancestors generally have the same names as the well.
778 All of these elements are unified by one or more myths. These myths in turn are dramatized by the various rituals enacted by the clanspeople so that when a man is asked what totems a particular clan possesses, he ordinarily thinks of the rituals they use and the myths the rituals portray.

The names of the clan wells either elaborate the detail of the myth as it is expressed by the totem or they give distinct additions which relate other totemic myths to the well. In no case does the name of a well have no relation to the totems of the clan.

614 The clansmen are identified with the totemic well by the fact that
778 they come from it and are allowed to be born by the action of the
182 totemic spirit that resides within the well; they are identified with the well because at death they will go back to it and because all of their kin who have died and those living, with whom they have had all of their social relations, are or will be either in this well into which their own soul returns or in other like clan wells; and finally, their well-being and that of their fellow clansmen and of other clans are dependent upon the proper enactment of the seasonal rituals which demonstrate the mana or power of the totem. At death not only does the soul go into the well but it also enters into the totemic emblem itself and becomes a part of it.

551 The names of the living are all taken from some part of the totemic
182 complex and refer directly or indirectly to the totem. One exception
771 to this is the new group of Malay terms which, however, have been sacralized by the real ancestors' possessing them, and which, after a period of taboo and when the ancestors are within the totemic water holes, are passed on to the living. Another exception to the rule is the group of nicknames, which are also inheritable by the living from the dead. The spiritual life of a Murngin, then, is entirely made up
771 from totemic elements, and his whole participation within that part
182 of the community which makes him a social man and separates him from the adolescent children and women is within the totemic complex itself. (This of course is a fundamental aspect of age grading and is treated under that head.) As a male social personality, a man is part of the totem, and in all his social relations with the male part

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though the dugout was capable of carrying more people than its predecessor, it did not develop into a war canoe.

The Malays gave all the islands, beaches, bodies of water, peninsulas, and other landmarks names from their own vocabulary, which the natives learned and used in addition to their own. All the locations in the whole territory which were touched by the Malay sailors have Malay as well as native terms. Men who do not know the Malay dialect usually know the Malay place names of a particular district.

Almost all the people of the Arafura country also have Malay personal names. These names were originally given them by the Malays, but they were passed by the natives to their own relatives through the custom of giving a sister's daughter's son, or a son's son, the name of a mother's mother's brother, or a father's father; and in the female line by giving the daughter's daughter or brother's son's daughter the name of a mother's mother or father's father's sister. The Murngin know which are Malay personal and place names and which are aboriginal in origin.

There were no Malay words adopted by the blacks to describe the various social institutions of the Murngin. No clan or local group, as far as the writer could determine, received a Malay name which was used by the black. No kinship term was adopted from the Malay terms, although it might be argued that the word for father (bapa) in Murngin nomenclature, being the same as the Malay word, was taken from the intruders. When it is realized that this same word bapa figures in the more central tribes as a kinship term, and that in some of these kinship systems it means older brother and in other places describes still different relatives, it will be seen that this likeness in the two languages was probably a coincidence. It could just as easily be argued that our word "papa" was taken over by the blacks and used for their word for father, since white civilization had been in contact with aboriginal Australian culture in the south and east for a considerable period of time. A visiting Malay, had he come to the Arafura country later than the white man. might have argued this were he as uncritical as many white theorists in their arguments for the diffusion of culture traits.

The Malays only slightly influenced Murngin mythology. Certain myths seem to have a possible Malay origin, or, if not Malay, then some other outside source, since they do not seem to fit into the general cultural background. For instance, the belief that a man acquires the soul of the man he has killed may be due to the transportation of the head-hunting idea from Indonesia to Australia by the Malay traders. On the other hand, it is also likely that this Indonesian idea came by way of New Guinea and then down to Australia at a much earlier period than this last, Malay contact.

Certain native myths have been somewhat modified to make a place

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sible enemy group made him decide in favor of the reality of his experience. 787 754

After much conversation and discussion about it among the members of the two groups, it was decided that it must have been a dream and that it was not true. It was obvious that both sides wanted the relations to remain friendly.

There is some evidence that dreaming may explain the beliefs of sorcerers that they have killed certain people, since once a man gains a reputation for being a killer, and given the fact that the sorcerer kills men who stand in unfriendly relations with his group, it seems highly likely that some of his dreams would organize his antagonisms into a folk pattern in which he would be the soul stealer and his enemies the victims.

APPENDIX V

MURNGIN PERSONAL NAMES

The personal names of the Murngin are directly or indirectly connected with the various parts of the social structure to which the possessor belongs. 551 ● The kinship and family structure are given expression in the fact that a man usually obtains his father's father's or mother's mother's brother's names, which conforms to the alternation of generation principle found in the extended kinship organization and in the subsection system. 614 616 The clan and moiety are directly related to the personal names because some of the sacred and secular names always refer to an individual's totem and are usually connected with a clan well, or they may be the names of certain mythological ancestors which are again connected with the clan well. These names may be part of the Narra ceremony, since the names of the clan wells and those of the totem are called during this ritual. This is also true of the Wawilak cycle of rituals because the names of the ancestors are shouted during such ceremonies as the Djungguan, which means again that they have a totemic reference. A partial list of the names follows:

Men's Names: 551

Dar-per-aoi: the clan country from which this individual came.
Gur-nirn-oi: from the stone found in his clan country.
Walt-chi-mi: the name of a hollow drum-like totemic emblem which is supposed to stand up and walk around in the water and make a noise like a trumpet playing.
Nal-mi-a: mosquito.
Gan-du: refers to a totemic song and ship, the black color of a sail.

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551 Na-tur-li: this also comes from a song and refers to the pollen on a bee.
Kur-tel-li: the border of a eucalyptus flower.
Kai-i-ma: a line of clouds. This was taken from a song, as are most of the names of the Murngin, and the songs are regarded as those sung by the father of the man, which means that they are related to the owner's clan and moiety.
Wa-kar: typhoon.
Wa-kel-i-ma: typhoon.
Mai-an-gu-la: paddle.
Mo-ko-mo-ko: the yellow-throat, a variety of snake.
Kai-ko-ko: refers to the curlew.
Mor-do-do: the name of the clan country from which the owner came.
Kai-warn-di: name of the sea near the land where he was born.
Mal-ma-lin: mangrove leaves floating in a line on the tide.
Pa-ral-tja: fresh-water turtle.
Bair-wait: fruit of an aboriginal tree.
Goor-in-yal: name of the place where the father dreamed of him and the spirit child appeared.

Women's Names:

Tan-gai-tja: the red cloud.
Ur-mi-tjin: new string.
Ka-ring: red cloud.
Pa-mun-i-a: top of a Macassar ship's mast.
Mul-tar-a: black cloud.
Ma-rang-in: string that belongs to the paraphernalia of the Morning Star dance.
Mo-no-nin: the name of her father's clan country.
Ma-ring-gi: the name of an edible grub found in the mangrove swamps.
Gur-wor-uk: name of a small bird.
War-bur-ma: running water.
Nain-dji-wong-a: fin of a barrimundi.

All of these names which are sacred refer to the land of the clan to which the owner belongs or to which his or her mari belongs. Sometimes they have a more literal meaning than a place name, but other times the literal meaning has been lost and reference to the place name is the only thing that is known.

Some of the names are of the nickname variety. If a man's mari were injured in a fight in some peculiar manner he would receive a name from his mari which would refer to some aspect of this accident which appealed to the native imagination.

Each person receives two sets of names, one sacred and the other used in the ordinary daily life. The sacred names of the men are known to

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them after they have gone through their initiations into the higher age grades. The sacred names of the women are never known by them and are used only by the men. Each person has anywhere from four to ten names. With the coming of the Malays the natives had a new source from which to obtain their personal names: some aspect of the material culture of the Malays as it is expressed in Australian waters, or occasionally a personal name taken from the Malays met. All the Murngin are anxious to acquire as many names as possible; and when they come in contact with white civilization they are always pleased to obtain a personal name from the whites, whether it be one of our personal names, a nickname, possibly a place name, or sometimes a combination of these elements, as for example, Cape Don Tommy (Cape Don being the name of a prominent landmark in the Arafura Sea).

APPENDIX VI

MURNGIN SIGN LANGUAGE

ALL the tribes in northeastern Arnhem Land have a very elaborate sign language which is used between peoples who do not understand each other's spoken languages, between the deaf and dumb, and by young men who are observing taboos of silence after certain initiations. The complete sign language of the Murngin was not worked out by the author, but sufficient samples of it were taken to indicate its general outlines and the methods of developing its symbolism. Listed below are several score of words and their sign-language equivalents.

Bapa—touching the right shoulder with the left hand.
Arndi—touching the breast.
Marikmo and maraitcha—touching the top of the head.
Gatu—touching the right shoulder.
Wawa and yukiyuko—touching the calf of the leg.
Yeppa—touching the calf of the leg.
Gawel—touching the inside of the right elbow.
Male and female galle—touching the left and right buttocks.
Mokul rumeru—touching the knee.
Male and female mari and kutara—touching the backbone.
Marelker, gurrong, dumungur, momelker, and natchiwalker—touching the knee.
Kaminyer, nati, and momo—touching the chin.
Mokul bapa—touching the right shoulder.

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Murngin OI17

There are two bark paintings illustrating the dugong hunt at the totemic place of the *Mokoi*, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw.

Plate 111A shows two *Mokoi* in a canoe hunting four dugongs. The black line between the two lower dugongs is the long dugong spear. The white cross-hatching in this panel indicates the rough seas which allowed the dugongs to escape. The upper and lower left-hand panels, *a* and *c*, are sand-banks near the totemic place of the dugongs and *b* is a mythical stingray. By burying itself in the sand the stingray has clouded the water so much that it has the appearance of smoke, indicated by cross-hatching.

Plate 111D deals with the same totemic place as the previous painting. On the lower right are two *Mokoi* in their canoe, and below them three queen fish, *tinimbu*. In the left-hand panel the four dugongs are being hunted by the *Mokoi* and on the upper right is the upturned canoe of the hunters, now a large rock on the seashore. Cross-hatching, as before, indicates rough seas which prevented the capture of the dugongs.

The Mokoi, Delururu, Rangi-rangi and Kultana

Two brothers, *Delururu* and *Rangi-rangi*, accompanied by *Kultana*, who carry the spirits of the *jiritja* dead to their heaven, left Nalkuna in their canoe, *Lampu*, and paddled to the totemic place of the *Mokoi* at Cape Arnhem to spear dugongs. They had captured several and were resting on the beach when they saw a mortal man searching for turtle eggs. This gave the party such a fright that they hurried back to their canoe and paddled homeward as quickly as possible.[95]

In the centre of Pl. 111B are three *Mokoi* in their wooden canoe, called *Lampu*,[96] who have just speared a dugong. Reading from the left, their names are *Delururu*, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana*. The cross-hatching around the dugong is the rough sea water and the triangular patterns, *a*, the cumulus clouds created by the serpent, *bilumbira*. Above the canoe are five queen fish, *tinimbu*.

The Mokoi, Jambula and Bulanuna

Two *Mokoi*, a father, *Jambula*, and his son, *Bulanuna*, went to sea in their canoe, called *Tamalania*,[97] and speared a hawksbill turtle. This they took to a locality at Cape Arnhem, cooked and ate it. The canoe and the turtle are now parts of the topography of the coast of Cape Arnhem.

At *a*, on the right-hand panel of Pl. 111C, is *Jambula*, left, and his son, *Bulanuna*, returning to land with the turtle they have captured lying in the bottom of the canoe. An octopus and two queen fish are in the same panel. When, in still weather, these queen fish jump out of the water they cause the

95. This is a myth similar to that of *Bitikiri* depicted on the engraved paddle, Fig. 50F.

96. Wooden canoes are *jiritja* and bark canoes *dua*. This conforms to the custom of the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land of placing all modern objects in the *jiritja* moiety and the ancient ones in the *dua*. The canoes of the spirit people all have special names.

97. The aborigines have personal names for themselves, their dogs and their canoes.

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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speak to the mother of so-and-so.' He may also get round the prohibition by using relationship terms or addressing his remarks to a third person.

Nomads have no equivalents to our courtesy phrases 'please' and 'thank you' but make use of a highly developed form of praise. They couch their requests in courteous flattery. A Yulengor who is preserving some highly prized spear-heads may be reluctant to part with them, but if a man says to him, 'Ga, bokor-julni' ('Give to me, your face is smiling, pleasant and good'), he will almost certainly hand over the goods. Again, a man stretching out his hand to a relative for some rare food will probably say: 'Ga, kong-julni' ('Give to me, your hand is kind and generous').

Other forms of speech are used more often between closely related nomads, as when a child says to its mother: 'Ga, bokor-ngati' ('Give to me, your face is like my grandfather's'). Brothers, sisters and cousins say to each other: 'Ga, bokor-bapa' ('Give to me, your face is like your father's'). Sometimes they employ the idiom: 'Rhumbul durung unnera' ('Body and flesh like your father'), though more frequently this is addressed to a corpse in mourning ceremonies.

For years I was at a loss to know why groups of laughing Yulengor broke off their conversation when I happened to be passing, and turned to say: 'Poor fellow-tribal-father.' When I asked why they thought I was a 'poor fellow' they were momentarily nonplussed and I was still further embarrassed. Such a group would never laugh, even at a joke, if they saw an elderly or respected Yulengor passing. If they happen to be laughing or talking as an 'old' man approaches, they turn and say 'Kummajarrk', thereby conveying best wishes, goodwill, and sympathetic understanding, and implying that they think well of him and that their laughter is not at his expense. In similar circumstances,

15:Chaseling M-5 (ca. 1934-1936)1957
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vicinity of the speaker and 'limeru' includes everybody, far and wide, such as the human race.

Stone Age men have little use for numbers, for they have so little to count. If a definite number is used at all, it is usually under five. Fingers are the theoretical basis for counting, and one is 'wonggain'; two 'marrama'; three is two plus one; four is two and two; five is known as a hand, 'korng'. Six is hand plus one, and so on to ten, which is two hands, 'korng-marrama'. When pidgin is in use, the numerals are one to five, and after that it is 'big mob'.

Aboriginal languages are 'alive' and are being altered to meet new needs and conditions. Many new words have been absorbed as a result of the Macassars trading here, and so complete has been the acceptance and use of these terms, that the oldest nomads, some of whom travelled to Macassar on the trading proas, do not readily recognize their origin. With the advent of white traders, the Yulengor began to assimilate English words, and at Yirrkala I found a boy called Deamer (steamer) and a girl Giggerat (cigarette). Soap is 'jope', scissors are 'thither', razor is 'yeezer', cockroach 'karkrartj', and from one end of the country to the other, flying fox has been corrupted to 'bailanbok'. A nomad can do no other than reckon the hours of the day by the sun, and as a consequence, clocks and watches are also known as sun, 'wolu'.

'Dimit-dimirr' is the word for barbed fronds on the pandanus palm, as well as for thorny trees and spiky anemones, but now it is given to introduced lemon trees and barbed wire. 'To swim' is 'waitun' and to this they add the suffix 'mirry', something like our suffix 'ful', meaning 'full of', and the resultant 'waitunamirry' becomes a boat's propellor. 'Kurrta', denoting fire, firewood, or smoke, now serves for an engine, and 'kurrtamirry', full of fire, is a shotgun or rifle. Any law is 'rorm', and the verb 'to give' is 'gurrpan', so that to teach something is 'rormgurrpan',

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given to relatives, and by accepting them they pledge themselves to avenge the death of their kinsman. Bones are also worn as hunting-charms; the ghost follows the bone and guides the wearer to good hunting. Skeletons carried in canoes or sheltered in huts transfer their ghost to anything they touch, and rarely are they allowed to come into contact with private property.

Tabus are lifted by switching away the ghost with smoking twigs. This common 'muntja' ceremony is performed whenever news of a death reaches a camp, perhaps months after it has occurred, otherwise the roaming, mischievous ghost might haunt them indefinitely. Men are most particular in taking part in the ghost-laying practices, otherwise the ghost would trail them when hunting, and as animals can see these spirits it would not be possible to stalk and spear game.

An accepted etiquette is observed in breaking news of death. With an air of mystery the messenger imparts his information to two or three of the older men, and often it is ten or twelve hours before they divulge the news in open camp. I saw a man bring such news and tell it by signs to a few old men who agreed to keep the secret till they arranged the ghost-placating ceremony, and no one heard about it till the coterie commenced to sing for the unmistakable 'muntja'. Performers then derived great satisfaction from the furore; the rest of the camp ran to inquire about the death and to join in the laying of the ghost.

Dead nomads' names are never repeated, though reference to them can be made by signs or by relationship terms. If the restless ghost heard its old familiar name it would probably lodge in the camp or in the body of the person using it. A nomad with a dead man's name will change it or be referred to under a class-name. A little girl, Milly-milly, had her euphonious name changed to Arrung-giddy-niddy after the death of an older Milly-milly. The child appreciated

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the distinction, and when I forgot the new name and used the old one she remained naïvely silent till correctly addressed.

Appropriate names are given to wandering ghosts, though 'mali', 'morquoi' and 'warru' are the most comon. Mali and morquoi are also used for reflections in water or in a mirror, and warru is applied to any shade or shadow. Ghosts roam at will, hunting and fishing, gathering yams and cooking them; strange events, unaccountable fires, a falling tree, and unrecognizable footprints can all be attributed to mali. At times a mali deserts a skeleton and hovers round a mother's camp, and should she find that her food has disappeared, she is happy in the belief that her dead child's shadow came to her when hungry.

'Birrimbirr' is the second spirit found in every individual. Birrimbirr come from the spirit world of Buralkor, and at death relatives urge them to return there. Irrespective of the life lived on earth, birrimbirr return to Buralkor, and good and bad spirits live there in hordes as they do on earth.

Buralkor lies beyond the rising sun and is the home of the Great Spirit who sent out the first creative Ancestresses. The sun comes from the spirit land and goes back again each night to suckle her infant. On its flight to Buralkor a spirit first sees a cloud rising from the sea and later it resolves itself into a dense jungle with every leaf holding a sparkling dewdrop. On approaching the trees, the birrimbirr finds an opening, and a plover guides it through the branches to the camp of its horde's spirits, where it is welcomed and it settles down to a happy life of hunting. Birrimbirr are able to see what is taking place on earth, and from time to time they hear earthly relatives calling for help and for them to go and pilot in another spirit.

With both mali and birrimbirr safely disposed of, the bones are smeared with red-ochre, and involved totemic symbols